

Up-to-Date Methods of Giving and Receiving Bribes.



ten times as much. So the legislator represents first his employer, and second his district just so far as it is necessary to do for re-election.

On the outskirts of this organized system is the legislator, who "takes fees," that is, who manages to combine his legal profession with his religious combines his legal profession with his solition.

Some Refinements in Corruption as Practised at Albany.

tions with a past, has certain dates to which its beneficiaries turn back with sadness. Such, for example, are the days of Tweed, when overcoats were hung in numbered closets, and lobbyists carried pass keys for those closets and deposited long rolls of greenbacks in the pockets of those overcoats for value received. And yet, prosperous as were those forgotten times of traditional generosity, the contemporary legislater need not accept the unhappy description of "poor but honest." New methods have supplanted the old, in part; old methods have survived, in part, but by and large the legislature just gathered to the past is said by many to have wellnigh equalled the high water mark of Tweed "graft," and to have done it in the widest variety of ways, modern and ancient, ingenious and brazen, clever and brutal. Votes were bought in the open at prices ranging from \$500 "contingent" to \$40,000 "straight," but it is to the more delicate and statesmanlike methods of "raising the wind" that one naturally turns to render the last tribute to the recent meeting of the representatives of the people of New-

York in the Senate and Assembly. Absolute statements of legislative venality are dangerous, because the art of legislative "graft" in its concealment; therefore, to announce that any percentage of the statesmen at Albany can be purchased is merely to say what every one knows and no one can prove. It is also useless to attempt to deal with that class of "grafters" who are plain and simple legislative "pi-"Indians off the reservation," as they are euphemistically called in Albany. This class has no fine distinctions; it has no internal hesitations; its single article of faith is always to be heard in the preface: "What is there into this bill for me?" These men are the "captains of industry" in legislative "graft"; the "privates" and "non-coms" have milder ways.

This first class may be dismissed with a single example. A parlor car company sought legislative aid. Its attorney labored with the proper committee for some time and finally said to

This is a little bill; surely there is no reason for your not reporting it." "There are 150 reasons exactly," replied the

chalrman of the committee, and the 150 reasons, namely, annual passes, were promptly forthcom-

A LITTLE FLYER IN STOCKS.

But the "out-and-outer" needs no further the sideation or description. His sert has been to the market since the first lobbyist played i dedication for corporations in legislative halls, Ills terms are "cash"; his payment is collected at a certain Ricito hotel; he "stays bought" and

has no regrets. But there are other phases, many of them more or less novel in their character-not expolly new, but representing the response of the legislator to the "higher criticism" of the age. The occasional and more or less reluctant seller of his vote more usually comes from the country than the city. He arrives in Albany with no meney; he accumulates untold debts, and as the end of the session approaches is confronted by a wilderness of obligations. All comes up-some question entirely without importance for the member from the country-the lobbyist appears. Not with cash. The average up-State legislator, at the outset, at least, of his career, shrinks from "tainted money." But the lobbyist suggests a "straight tip" on the market." "a flyer in Wall Street," the most fascinating of all appeals to the rural Solon. Then the lobbyist protects the margin, helps the Solon to make a few hundreds, and casually suggests that he "vote right" on the "grab" bill. Having prospered in a "legitimate market transaction," the legislator finds it the most natural thing to oblige a friend, particularly because the streets of New-York are his most remote concern. This is the "bucket shop" system, though, of course, in its most minute and "shoestring" form;

But even this "legitimate transaction" has a certain element of distaste for the needy but scrupulous. It carries with it a suggestion of "tainted money." One kind of fish might take the bait, but it needs more tempting morsels to lure the more cautious. The rural member to be approached may have a milk route or a vegetable farm. His vote must be sought in a different way. The lobbyist recognizes that self-respect or the extreme fear of detection and consequent loss of position in his home community is a strong influence in making the legislator "straight." To reach him he works through the medium of reduced rates for carrying milk or produce on the railroads; rebates on freight, in fact. And when the national problem of rebates opened up last year it wellnigh caused a panic in certain local directions. Such a farmer would resent with all bitterness the charge that he was a "grafter"; "tainted money" would be spurned by him, but rebates are a different question, and he may take them

and still remain the deacon at home. "WINE, WOMEN AND SONG."

But in all this there is a sordid element. It appeals only to the sordid, and the majority of any legislature is made up of "good fellows." A "bucket shop" margin might tempt these, just for the sport and gamble, but "wine, women and seng" afford the surest means to their favor and their suffrage. Here again the lobbyist is able to meet the situation. He has plenty of money. He "personally conducts," little parties to New-York at the week-end-theatre tickets, money to "play the wheel" at gambling houses; even more, personal expenses are paid by him. So he makes friends, and when the important day comes to vote away something that belongs to the people he says:

"I'm interested in that little bill; please do me the favor, if you can."

for the boys" than by "putting up the stuff" in the long run.

The poker game has its place, too, both the ist "lays down" to the legislator. There are not a few legislators who, in the course of a sese several times their salary at poker; readiness to "bank" hard losers also makes clety that at the close of hostilities with Rus- performed this ceremony and found the Japan-

Legislative "graft" at Albany, like all institu- | friends for the lobbyist, makes friends that may be called upon for assistance upon the important day when the lobbyist asks the legislature to justify his employers' confidence in him by passing some "little bill."

In all these methods it is apparent that there are little refinements of conscience, little efforts to preserve either self-respect or outward decency. The purchase price is never exactly "tainted money." The man bought, moreover, seldom, if ever, disposes of his vote in any mat-

class, the "combine" and the committee, and these represent in their latest development the high water mark of modern legislative corrup-

To illustrate by example, early last session a Senator whose name has become identified with "graft" throughout the State sought another member of the Insurance Committee and said to him casually: "Some of us fellows on the Insurance Commit

be made to come to the front like life insurance companies do, and we have made a little com bination in the committee. Are you with us?"

This combination would, and possibly did, operate in just this way: Certain of its members promptly introduced a series of measures

tee think that fire insurance companies ought to

which, if passed, would seriously cripple fire insurance corporations. The bills would be referred, of a necessity, to the Insurance Committee, and then the negotiations would begin. The committee (that is, the combination, including a majority of the committee) could name the price for which they would refuse to report the bills. If the price was not forthcoming they could report one of the measures. Then the corporations would probably yield, put up their price, perhaps a peinlty for delay besides, and the bill would be recommitted and perish with other bills of a similar sort. Of course the fact that the bills were drafted to confer public benefit would not affect their killing. It is the art of "strike" legislation to make the bills of such character as to secure public approval and public support, based on the little maxim which, if passed, would seriously cripple fire in-

The better the bili.

Such combinations as the foregoing operate

in nearly every field of industry, where the corporations do not "come to the front," or, to put it more baldly, wherever corporations refuse to pay blackmail for the suppression of all hostile legislation. The fact that this field is not wider is due to the general submission of large corporations and the formation, as the result, of the "friendly 'combine'"; that is, of a "combine" in each committee, which protects the corporations from the public, for blackmail. Companies are saved the necessity of making expensive improvements demanded by public agitation through this means.

BIG MONEY IN THIS.

To take another illustration of the friendly "combine," one frequently formed, the law reg-ulating the character of the railroad bonds in which the funds of savings banks may be invested is stringent in the extreme, but its force

the legislator, who "takes fees," that is, who manages to combine his legal profession with his political prestige. He, too, represents corporations in the legislature, but he is carried on their pay rolls under the designation of "counsel." A corporation desiring an important bill to be introduced in the proper fashion finds it most convenient to have its legal representative, or one of them, a Senator. He may or may not perform other services. Usually he does not. This phase represents the delicate border land between the "legitimate" and the "graft" method. The lawyer is the despair of his colleagues in legislative halls. To them his "retainer" is pure "graft," but somehow the world in general is able to make distinctions. The legal position is regarded as the "safest lay" in existence, and a complete list of the legislators who accept fees would be one of the most startling commentaries upon the modern system that could be made.

Finally there remains to be discussed one more phase, the most open, the most generally understood and the most long enduring. In every session there are bills that public agitation and press denunciation combine to drive either the friends or the opponents of out into "the open." Such bills were the "Niagara grab" and the gas bills of the last session. Then the little dissimulations, the conscience satisfying salves, the pleasant fictions and timeworn excuses are laid aside. Then "money talks." At such a time the little "grafters," the men who work under cover for small gains, are driven back to the ranks of the honest; "the pikers," as they are denominated, do not dare to stand out. But similarly the price of votes pikers," as they are denominated, do not dare to stand out. But similarly the price of votes increases. Thousands and tens of thousands become the price of one vote. A competency for life to rural members is not infrequently the price of a vote, as it was against gas last year and against the franchise tax in a former ses-sion.

At such a time the whole legislative chamber takes on the appearance of a country auction. Stenographers hear frantic offers. Clerks carry imploring messages. Party obligation sinks before the consuming passions of avarice and cupidity. Even the members who have no share in the selling are conscious of what is going on. On the memorable "Gas Thursdar." going on. On the memorable "Gas Thursday of last session there was not a messenger hoy in the Capitol who did not know secrets that would have contributed to the information of a grand jury. But legislators, honest or corrupt,

grand jury. But legislators, honest or corrupt, are not censorious. It doesn't pay, for they have bills to pass also.

In such a final hour the little things are waved aside. Votes are no longer had for drinks and poker debts, for railroad rebates, carriage or railroad passes. Even a "legal retainer" has no place here. But such days come only once in the average life of a Senator in Albany. For the rest, for the scores of little corporation bills, benefits, protections and perquisites which every legislature lavishly bestows, the lobbyist has easy methods, not disturbing to conscience, not violating outwardly existing conventions. But his main source of strength lies in the New-York City legislator, who represents his own constituents honestly, that he may frequently return to help plunder that of some ether. that he may frequently return to help plunder that of some other. This does not apply to all—in fact, is not made as a statement of numbers or percentages—but the size of the fraction is concededly large.



MRS. CHARLES J. BONAPARTE.

ter of importance to his community; but what up-State community cares about "pipe galleries in future subways" in New-York City? Moreover, in general, up-State legislation, from its smallness, offers little chance to "make." The the long weeks the lobbyist watches him, and up-State legislator may, without hesitation, vote one day, when the question of transfers or for a bill to give Broadway to a corporation, street "grabs" by corporations in New-York City but will tenaciously and bitterly protect the rights of the smallest village in his county. Only the New-York City legislator is guilty of complete readiness to sell out his own city or any other, his own district or all districts, without

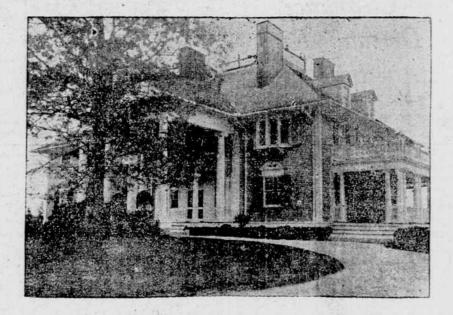
CHARLES J. BONAPARTE

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New Secretary of the Navy, on the porch of his country home.

the least compunction. THE VERY LATEST METHOD.

But no glimpse, however cursory, of legislative "graft" at Albany would be of significance without mention of the more advanced and systematic methods, the manœuvres of the squadrons commanded by those "captains of industry" in the legislative field. The classifications made already include only the timid, the guileless or those who endeavor to hit a profitable compromise between their consciences and their expenses. The professionals, however are the men that command both the respect and the financial assistance of the lobbyist most extensively. They are the men who handle the thousands, who may, in fact, unite the dual capacities of legislator and lobbyist. Two im-



COUNTRY HOME OF CHARLES J. BONAPARTE, NEAR BALTIMORE.

is to some extent vitiated by the fact that the bonds of certain rallroads may be included in the list by name. Thus a "combine" might be formed to "take care" of \$50,000,000 new issue by some corporation not on the list. If these bonds could be made legal investment for New-York savings bank funds it would enhance of the bond five or ten points. Such combinations, when successful, usually net up-ward of \$1,000,000 to the combination and the other interests involved; that is, a big share to each member of the "combine" and a smaller each member of the "combine" and a smaller share to the legislators who vote for the bill on final passage. Of course the passage of such a measure might be—often is—a raid upon the public, an attack upon the savings of the poor, but it pays, and pays well. Such a "combine" was alleged to have attempted to operate for Chicago and Eastern Illinois last year, falling because the Governor took a hand.

Mention was made a moment ago of "strike"

ing because the Governor took a hand.

Mention was made a moment ago of "strike" combines, such as those operating in fire insurance fields. One remedy for this on the part of corporations is to carry influential legislators on their pay rolls; that is, to make the legislators on the committee which may injure them permanent employes, with a salary, with percentage for extra services and finally with liberal contributions for campaign funds. It is one of the little jokes of the press representatives at Albany that when a bill is introduced favoring a corporation the corporation can often be recognized by the man introducing it. In other words, the State pays a legislator \$1,500 to represent it, but some corporation pays him

C. J. BONAPARTE AT HOME.

The New Secretary of the Navy Enjoys Country Life.

Baltimore, June 17 (Special).-Charles J. Bonaparte, who will become Secretary of the Navy on July 1, was fifty-four years of age a few days ago. Although overwhelmed with congratulatory letters and law business, he took a day off and enjoyed himself in that happy hearted way so characteristic of him at his country home, Bella Vista, in Snow Bird Valley.

Like his friend, President Roosevelt, Mr. Bonnparte knows how to play as well as work. He can get more real healthy recreation out of one day away from the office than some

He keenly enjoys a joke and always sees the morous side as well as the practical side of politics. When he surprised many of the smaller politicians and accepted the invitation to attend the Republican State Committee meeting the other day and sound the keynote of the campaign against the Gorman negro disfranchising constiagainst the Gorman negro disfranchising constitutional amendment, a reporter asked him if his new appointment meant that he was to be the future dispenser of federal patronage in Maryland and whether his attendance on the State Committee's meeting should be taken to indicate his entrance into the field of practical politics as "hoss."

"Well, I don't know about that," replied Mr. Bonaparte, "but I suppose that in order to carry out my part as some of my friends would have me do I should take my place to-morrow in a little room off the main hall and have over the Goor a placard inscribed "See me first." Mr. Bonaparte seemed to enjoy his joke very much, He was putting in a little dig at Senator Gorman, who at the meetings of the Democratic State Committee generally occupies a private room in which the

ENORMOUS GROWTH OF ALASKA.

Output of Gold-Eighteen Newspapers-Many Miles of Railroad Built and Projected.

Some idea of the enormous growth of Alaska since the gold excitement at Dawson in 1898 and 1899 is given by the almanac issued by the Alaska Club, copies of which have recently been received in New-York from the West. It appears that the output of gold mines in Alaska proper last year was \$9,000,000, and that this will be increased to \$16,000,000 this year, without taking into consideration the output of the Fairbanks and other new districts, from which authentic data will not be

There is a steadily growing list of Alaskan fraternal organizations, which begins with the pow-erful Arctic Brotherhood, with branches at various erful Arctic Brotherhood, with branches at various points throughout Alaska and along the Yukon. Other organizations are the Alaska Academy of Sciences, at Nome; the Society of Ethnology, at Sitka; the Kegoayah Kogga (Aurora Club), at Nome; the Alaska Women's Auxiliaries of Sitka, Skagway, Juneau, Doughs, Treadwell, Wrangell and Ketchikan; the Yukon Order of Ploneers and the Alaska Club, with headquarters at Seattle.

The War Department has essablished five forts and one camp in Alaska. They are Fort Egbert, Major E. H. Plummer, ten officers and the iniated men; Fort Gibbon, Major Archur Williams, eight officers and 14 enlisted men; Fort Davis, Capitain Paul Giddings, four officers and 25 enlisted men; Fort St. Michael, Major William L. Buck, nine officers and 13 enlisted men; Fort Liscum, Lieutonant Colonel James E. Mackin, also officers and 13 enlisted men, and Comp Skagway, Colonel Thomas C. Woodbury, fourteen officers and 20 enlisted men of the 3d Infantry.

There are eighteen names in the list of newspapers and periodicals, of which three are dailier. The rospector." The Heraid," "The Journal" The Prospector." "The Heraid," "The Gold Digger," The Novact. "The Gateway," he Forum, "The Guide" and "The News-Letter."

Many will be surprised at the number and extent of Alaskan reilways, which are given in the

lews-Letter. Many will be surprised at the number and ex-ent of Alaskan railways, which are given in the aimanac as follows:
The Nome and Arctic Rallway is in operation for a distance of twelve miles.
The Solomon River and Council City Railway is in operation for a distance of eleven miles.
The Wild Goose Railroad is in operation between Council City and Ophir Creek, a distance of eight

nies. The White Pass and Yukon Railway is in opera-ion between Skagway and White Horse, a distance of 112 miles.

The Alaska Central Rallroad is in operation for a distance of twenty miles, and the road is now being built to Atwood, a distance of 400 miles.

The Tanana Mines Rallway is being built from Pairbanks to the Creeks, a distance of nineteen

mlies.
The Trans-Alaska-Siberia Railway-projected,
Alaska Midiand, from Valdez to Fairbanks, to
Koyukuk to Seward Peninsula. a distance of 1,500

A YALE PROFESSOR FOR JAPAN.

New-Haven, Conn., June 17 (Special) .- "At the close of the present Russo-Japanese war," said Professor George Trumbull Ladd, of Yale University, to-day, "I expect that Japan will enter upon an era of marked advance in every direction. Holding the position she will then have of undisputed mistress of the East, Japan will begin at once to show noticeable improve-

To take part in this advancement in Japan, the best known of Yale's teaching force, will go to the Mikado's empire on the invitation of the Imperial Education Society. Professor Ladd will leave this country for Japan probably a year from now, and will remain there, he cannot say just now for how long. He stated to-day that the Japanese newspapers in Tokio were announcing that he would arrive this coming summer, but he states that this is not the fact. He leaves Yale this year, having terminated his teaching in New-Haven, and next year will serve in a full professorship in philosophy at Western "Just because he's such a good fellow," ex- Reserve University. After that his plans are plains dozens of deciding votes. There is more indefinite, though he states that among the first profitable legislation passed by "making a night | things he will take up is the coming trip to

Professor Ladd has for years been known as the champion of Japan among American unistraight game and the game in which the lobby- versity professors, having already made two important lecture trips to the island empire, and having brought to this country a considerable number of Japanese students and teachers, of but the discreet lobbyist often repairs the dam- whom Yale has had the great majority. These age by carelessly "dropping" a few hundred to Yale Japanese students frequently meet at his the legislator who is hard hit, doing this in a home, and in turn have welcomed him in his game in which he seems to play his hand, but, tours of their own country. In talking to-day in reality, sacrifices it. This is a little less than about his proposed trip, Professor Ladd said "real sport," but it often helps, while less scien- that the most definite thing he felt like saying tific assistance comes in the way of loans, made about it was that there was an "understanding as temporary, but never collected. Generous between himself and the Imperial Education So-

George Trumbull Ladd Invited Thither by the Imperial Education Society.

work in Japan." Further than that his plans are as yet uncertain. His work, he said, would not be so much in "reorganizing" as in lecturing on education. "The Japanese," he said, "are Professor Ladd, who has been for years one of extremely open to Western educational influences, and are anxious to understand our methods and results."

In 1892 and again in 1899 Professor Ladd made trips to Japan similar to that which he now proposes to take. "In 1892," he said, "I lectured extensively in Japan at Doshisha, and before the Taconi summer school; before the latter especially on religion. In 1899 I again went over to the East, making that time a longer trip, going to India in addition to Japan. I lectured extensively also on this trip. In India I spoke before educators and students in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, while in Japan the government released teachers of the colleges and graded schools so that they could attend my talks in Tokio on educational matters. I also lectured at the Imperial University at this time. It was on this trip that I was honored by the Emperor, receiving from him the decoration of the Order of the Rising Sun. I had an audience with the Emperor at that time, in which, I suppose, I had a unique experience. Court manners are naturally carefully carried out in Japan, and it is possible that I have been one of the few foreigners who ever had the privilege of shaking hands with the Emperor. On my appearance that day I was informed by one of the dignitaries of the court that the Emperor was that morning in a particularly 'gracious' mood,

and that he desired to shake hands with me. I

sia he was to take up a period of educational | ese Emperor a peculiarly attractive man. It is under an understanding with the Imperial Education Society that I will again go to Japan and lecture on educational matters. The Japanese government officials have been exceedingly kind to me, and I look forward to this further introduction of American ideas of education with great interest. Just what I shall do I do not as yet know, but in the main my work will be practically the same as on my two previous trips, though it may be that I shall stay longer.

"Japan has a thorough system of education, though it cannot be compared exactly with either our American university system or with the German gymnasium plan. There are graded schools and universities, and a great many fine private schools, at one or two of which I spoke. At one of these schools, under the direction of the famous Japanese educator, Fukuzawa, when I had finished speaking I was told that I had treed to lecture on the platform from which.

had a visit from a Japanese who was touring the world to learn about engineering projects, and I have had all sorts of ventures of this kind brought to my notice. There is one Japanese, for instance, who called on me recently, who is in this country to study horse breeding and the way we train our horses. This only goes to show the intense and intimate interest the Japanese have in everything that savors of development or advance. Just now I believe that the door of Japan is more open than ever to Christianity, and that in time a form of Japanese Christianity will be developed in that country, which, while local, of course, in its adaptation, will be truly Christian. In fact, the Japanese in this war have shown a truer Christian' spirit than the Christian Russians. had a visit from a Japanese who was touring 'Christian' spirit than the Christian Russians.

"What will be the status of the East after peace is declared? That is a big question, and one that I am intensely interested in. In the first place, Japan will hardly agree to peace unless she gets what the world at large believes she ought to get, now, and that is the complete mastery of that part of the world, at least so far as further encroachments by Russia are concerned. That is, the war, for the best interests of mankind, ought to result in the East comine under Japan, which nation is the one coming under Japan, which nation is the one that can best develop that part of the world. The worst feature of the Eastern problem is the gradual exploiting of those nations by West-I had finished speaking I was told that I had stood to lecture on the platform from which, you might say, the first utterance of what we call free speech in Japan had been made. The Coreans and Chinese are now coming to Japan in large numbers for educational advantages, and there is abundant reason to believe that, with the war over, Japan will at once begin to make great str les in advance in this work. I feel it to be a great thonor to take part, even in a small way, in this advance.

"I have had a personal interest in the Japanese people now for years. I have had four Buddhists in my courses in philosophy and religion here at Yale, three of whom were Japanese Buddhist priests; and almost constantly I receive visits from travelling Japanese. The public knows little about the way the Japanese are picking up knowledge all over the world, but the way they are doing it is really amazing. Besides the saliors and laborers, many of them nen of high caste, who are working in navy yards all over the world, Japan it constantly sending out inaumerable young men in all lines of development. For instance, it have recently